

Message Text

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 OES-07 IO-13 DLOS-09 EB-08 TRSE-00
OMB-01 ACDA-12 /121 W
-----085896 290238Z /70

R 280611Z OCT 77
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2330
INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
USLO PEKING
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
CINCPAC HONOLULU

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 16710

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, PINR, CH, JA
SUBJECT: CURRENT STATUS OF SINO-JAPANESE POLITICAL RELATIONS

REF: TOKYO 16426 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: WHILE JAPANESE PRESS TRYING TO BREATHE SOME LIFE INTO
PFT QUESTION, FONOFF PERCEIVES LESSENERED PRESSURE FROM CHINESE
SIDE. ONE CHINESE OFFICIAL TOLD RECENT GROUP OF JAPANESE
VISITOR STHAT ECONOMIC INTERESTS WERE PARAMOUNT IN SINO-
JAPANESE RELATIONS. IN ADDITION, PRO-PEKING DIETMAN TOLD
TENG HSIAO-PING THAT CHINESE CRITICISM ON SUBJECT UNHELPFUL
AND BEST THING CHINESE LEADERS COULD DO WAS KEEP QUIET.
END SUMMARY.

1. PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY (PFT) WITH CHINA
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CONTINUES TO BE A FAVORITE SUBJECT OF SPECULATION FOR
JAPANESE PRESS. YOMIURI OCTOBER 25 FRONT-PAGED REPORT
CLAIMING THAT PM FUKUDA, CONCERNED ABOUT TENSION BETWEEN
PRO-AND ANTI-PEKING FACTIONS WITHIN LDP, HAD FIRMED UP
INTENTION TO EXPRESS HIS VIEWS ON PFT IN "NEAR FUTURE."
ARTICLE ALSO STATED FONOFF WANTED TO CONCLUDE PFT BEFORE
RE-OPENING OF REGULAR DIET SESSION IN JANUARY. YOMIURI

REPORT FOLLOWED OCTOBER 20 ASAHI ARTICLE, WHICH CLAIMED FONOFF WANTED TO MOVE SHORTLY ON PFT, EVEN IF RELATIONS WITH SOVIETS SHOULD SUFFER TEMPORARILY AS RESULT (REFTEL).

2. CHINA DIVDIR TAJIMA AND DEPDIR SUGIYAMA BOTH CHARACTERIZED ABOVE PRESS REPORTS IN SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS ITH EMBOFFS "AS PURE SPECULATION." SUGIYAMA FURTHER STATED THAT IN HIS VIEW CHINESE HAVE BEEN LESS CRITICAL OF GOJ ON PFT DURING LAST TWO-THREE MONTHS. ACCORDING TO TAJIMA, CHINA-JAPAN FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION PRESIDENT LIAO CHENG-CHIH RECENTLY TOLD VISITING GROUP OF RETIRED JAPANESE SELF-DEFENSE FORCE OFFICIALS THAT MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT OF SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS WAS ECONOMIC. LIAO REPORTEDLY SAID THAT IF ECONOMIC RELATIONS PROGRESSED, POLITICAL PROBLEMS WOULD FALL INTO PLACE.

3. PRO-PEKING LDP DIETMAN SUSUMU NIKAIDO, ALSO RECENTLY RETURNED FROM VISIT TO PRC, TOLD EMBOFFS THAT HE ADVISED PRC VICE-PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING IN THEIR MEETING OCTOBER 14 NOT TO CRITICIZE JAPAN PUBLICLY ON PFT. NIKAIDO, FORMER PM TANAKA'S CHIEF CABINET SECRETARY AT TIME OF SINO-JAPANESE NORMALIZATION, TOLD TENG SUCH STAEMENTS WERE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE AND ONLY MADE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR PEOPLE LIKE HIMSELF TO "WIN SUPPORT FOR CHINESE CAUSE". NIKAIDO ASSURED TENG THAT FUKUDA WAS DETERMINED TO CONCLUDE PFT, BUT ADDED THAT CHINESE MUST WAIT UNTIL TIME WAS RIGHT FOR FUKUDA
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TO ACT.

4. NIKAIDO ALSO FELT INTERNAL POLITICAL PRESSURES WERE NOT DECIDING FACTOR: FUKUDA WAS LEADER OF PRO-TAIWAN FACTION AND ONCE HE DECIDED TO MOVE ON PFT, THIS GROUP WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO CAUSE ANY REAL TROUBLE. IN RULING OUT DOMESTIC POLITICAL FACTORS AS MAJOR OBSTACLE, NIKAIDO IMPLIED THAT FOREIGN POLICY CONSIDERATIONS, I.E. JAPAN-SOVIET RELATIONS, WERE MAIN REASON FUKUDA TREADING CAUTIOUSLY.

5. NIKAIDO COMMENTED THAT DURING HIS 90-MINUTE CONVERSATION WITH TENG, LATTER KEPT LOOKING TO LIAO CHENG-CHIH FOR GUIDANCE AND ADVICE. NIKAIDO CONTRASTED THIS WITH HIS MEETING WITH CHOU EN-LAI FIVE YEARS AGO, WHEN CHOU DOMINATED CONVERSATION AND LIAO SAID LITTLE. IN NIKAIDO'S JUDGMENT, SHARED BY FONOFF'S CHINA DIVISION, LIAO IS PRC'S PRINCIPAL ADVISOR ON SINO-JAPANESE RELATIOS.

6. COMMENT. WE DO NOT THINK MAJOR JAPANESE INITIATIVE ON PFT IS IMMINENT. CURRENT SESSION OF DIET WILL PROBABLY BE EXTENDED WELL INTO NOVEMBER TO ALLOW PASSAGE OF IMPORTANT LEGISLATION, AND RUMORS PERSIST OF CABINET RESHUFFLE IN

NOVEMBER, WHICH COULD INVOLVE FONMIN. IN MID-NOVEMBER,
GOJ WILL HOLD NEXT ROUND OF FISHERIES NEGOTIATIONS WITH
SOVIETS FOR EXTENSION OF INTERIM FISHERIES ACCORDS, HURDLE
GOJ WILL WANT TO HAVE BEHIND IT BEFORE TAKING SERIOUS ACTION
ON PFT. THESE PREOCCUPATIONS, COMBINED WITH CHARACTERISTIC
JAPANESE CAUTION AND ABSENCE OF DIRECT PRESSURE FROM CHINESE --
PHENOMENON WHICH SHOULD PERSIST IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE GIVEN
PRC DESIRE TO SIGN SOME SORT OF LONG-TERM TRADE AGREEMENT
WITH JAPANESE BY YEAR'S END -- MEAN THAT PFT WILL PROBABLY
REMAIN ON BACK BURNER UNTIL NEXT JANUARY OR FEBRUARY AT EARLIEST.
MANSFIELD

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NNN

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